

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

24 September 2019

Ms. Emma Best
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Reference: F-2019-00314

Dear Ms.Best:

This is a final response to your 3 November 2018 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request for **an unredacted copy of the Tensions in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe paper described and included in LOC-HAK-289-6-4-1**. We processed your request in accordance with the FOIA, 5 U.S.C. § 552, as amended, and the CIA Information Act, 50 U.S.C. § 3141, as amended.

We located and completed a re-review of the document responsive to your request and determined that additional information can be released in the document with deletions continuing to be made on the basis of FOIA exemptions (b)(1) and (b)(3). A copy of the document is enclosed. Exemption (b)(3) pertains to information exempt from disclosure by statute. The relevant statutes are Section 6 of the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, as amended, and Section 102A(i)(1) of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended. As the CIA Information and Privacy Coordinator, I am the CIA official responsible for this determination. You have the right to appeal this response to the Agency Release Panel, in my care, within 90 days from the date of this letter. Please include the basis of your appeal.

If you have any questions regarding our response, you may contact us at:

Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505
Information and Privacy Coordinator
703-613-3007 (Fax)

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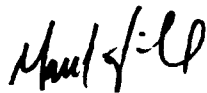
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Contacting the CIA's FOIA Public Liaison or OGIS does not affect your right to pursue an administrative appeal.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mark Lilly", written in a cursive style.

Mark Lilly
Information and Privacy Coordinator

Enclosure

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TENSIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY

Introduction

At no time in the history of the Soviet Union to date have political forces outside the Communist Party leadership played a significant role in influencing events. The Party apparatus, the KGB and the deeply vested interests of the Soviet State hierarchy are experienced in coping with dissidence of all types, and have an impressive record of asserting their will at any cost to the rest of society. The KGB in particular has an almost perfect record of successful penetration, manipulation and suppression of opposition elements. In addition there is an historic tradition of public apathy, largely unchanged even today among the workers and peasants of Russia, and dissident elements find little encouragement at the grass roots. The authorities have often exploited the antipathy of the working class toward the intelligentsia in suppressing incipient demonstrations.

Thus the experience of Russian history strongly argues against the proposition that the internal dissident will significantly influence Soviet society in the short term. The conditions, nevertheless, which abet existing trends toward more active and articulate dissidence could be affected by external developments. A discrediting of the regime by, say, another Czechoslovak crisis or a serious economic crisis, might well promote radical changes in the internal political climate. The paragraphs that follow should be considered in this light.

Intellectual Dissent

To describe the nature and scope of dissidence in the Soviet Union today poses the risk of over-emphasis. The Soviet regime is by no means on the brink of collapse. On the other hand, something new has indeed emerged in Soviet society since Stalin's death. The growing demand for freedom of expression has been widely reported in the Western press, and its suppression by Soviet authorities has in turn contributed to disillusionment among foreign Communists and Soviet sympathizers.

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The top rank of dissenters in the Soviet Union includes leading scientists, some of whom share the views of Andrey Sakharov, an eminent scientist. In 1968, Sakharov in a long pamphlet advocated radical changes in human society the world over. Speaking of his own country, he called for tolerance of political opposition, elimination of censorship, and frank discussion of Stalin's use of terror. Later in 1968, other prominent scientists including Peter Kapitsa, the Soviet Union's leading theoretical physicist, told Western colleagues that they agreed with Sakharov. The Sakharov pamphlet has never been published in the Soviet Union, but through Western radio broadcasts and publications Sakharov's words have been carried back to his countrymen.

After the scientists, next in prestige come the writers, whose tradition of social concern goes back to Turgenev, Tolstoy and even earlier. Their involvement in politics and protest has almost always been reluctant. Alexander Solzhenitsyn tried for years to remain aloof, but his determination to write what he believed and his refusal to conform to the requirements of the Party put him squarely against the censors and the Soviet Writers' Union. Last fall the Writers' Union expelled Solzhenitsyn for his recalcitrance. Learning that he had been expelled without an opportunity to defend his position, Solzhenitsyn wrote a letter to the leaders of the Union that epitomizes the attitude of the creative intelligentsia toward the Party hacks who control the institutions of Soviet society. "The face of your clock has been rubbed out. Your clock is far behind the times. Open your heavy curtains. You do not even know that outside it is already day.... In this time of crisis in our dangerously sick society you are not able to suggest anything constructive, anything good, only your own hatred and your spying on others and your determination to coerce and never to let go."

Beyond the circle of leading scientists and writers there are the active dissidents themselves. Most of them are younger members of the intelligentsia, but their ranks also include workers, teachers, and other professionals. A leading physicist in this group runs the only "underground press" known to exist in the Soviet Union. In May 1969 fifteen of the most active dissidents organized a Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, and petitioned the United Nations to protest against violations of human rights in the USSR. They were joined by some fifty other persons who publicly announced their support of the Committee. When the first petition received no answer, they sent a

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second. Now, ten months afterward, ten of the fifteen of the organizers of the Committee have been imprisoned or placed in mental hospitals, a favorite device of the regime for handling awkward cases.

In April 1968 the group began a bi-monthly Chronicle of Current Events, reporting in detail on arrests, threats and other coercive acts the Soviet regime uses to suppress opposition, plus the latest news concerning underground literature and petitions. Ten issues of the Chronicle were subsequently circulated in hundreds of type-written copies inside the USSR. A few copies of each reached the West, where they have been republished and broadcast back into the Soviet Union.

The writing and circulation of protest documents of many varieties, typed in carbon copies or handwritten, continues in the face of regime repression. In early 1968 the trial of Ginsburg and Galanskov inspired hundreds of Soviet citizens to risk censure, job loss or imprisonment by appealing to the authorities on behalf of the defendants. The petitioners and protesters have since supported other causes, and have proposed their own political programs as alternatives to the Communist Party's dictatorship. As one leader of the dissident movement, Lydia Chukovskaya, wrote, "The conspiracy of silence is at an end."

In reaction to the increasing repression of creative freedom in the USSR, outstanding representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia have forsaken their homeland for life in the West. In addition to Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, they include three distinguished writers, a prominent philosopher and editor, a young nuclear physicist, two outstanding musicians, a magazine editor, two leading experts on cybernetics, a movie director, a film critic and three students from Moscow University's Institute of Eastern Languages.

The picture of the Soviet Union that these defectors paint is one of increasing cynicism and alienation on the part of the intelligentsia, and apathy and bitterness in the working class. The philosopher mentioned above had this to say on the subject: "People are still afraid to trust one another entirely. I shared my real views only with three other men. Yet one knows how everybody feels--disillusioned, contemptuous of the bosses and frustrated by the Party careerists who know nothing but how to win and keep power. Now these careerists

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sense their isolation from the rest of the population. They no longer believe in anything. There are no idealists like my father left among them. They only know that to keep their power they must stick together, like cattle surrounded by wolves."

Minority Repression

Among many of the non-Russian minorities in the Soviet Union, dissent is vocal and widespread. It is also vigorously repressed.

In the Ukraine, the arrests of hundreds of Ukrainian dissidents in 1965 and 1966, and subsequent repressions, have been vigorously protested by leading Ukrainian scientists, artists, and writers, including Oleg Antonov, one of the Soviet Union's leading aircraft designers.

The contempt of the Baltic people for Soviet rule remains as strong as ever. It is no longer expressed in hopeless armed resistance, as it was twenty years ago. Instead, these small nations manifest a vigorous determination to preserve their national cultures. Even the local Communist Party apparatus has sought to assert a degree of autonomy. In Estonia many works of Western literature that have never been published in Russian are printed in the native language. Two of the major underground documents recently proposing alternatives to the Communist dictatorship originated in Estonia.

Economic Unrest

Since the December 1969 Central Committee Plenum, the Soviet press has given increasing attention to the lethargy of the economy. The best informed defectors and even Soviet economists depict the economy as suffering from overcentralization, rigid control, and a system of falsification and misrepresentation that prevents anyone from knowing what the true conditions are. A recent letter to Brezhnev circulated through underground channels in Moscow described the problems of the economy in the following terms: "It is obvious to everyone that in our system nobody is involved in real work. They only throw dust in the eyes of the bosses. Phoney events, such as jubilees and special days, have become for us more important than the real events of economic and social life.... Other states in which the economy is not ruled from the heavens, but from earth...are out-

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distancing us more and more.... Freedom to discuss problems openly, only such freedom, can put diseased Russia on the road to recovery."

Eastern Europe

In addition to its domestic problems, the Soviet Union has had chronic difficulty in managing its satellites in Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe the tensions in society are much greater than in the Soviet Union, the Western orientation much stronger, and the possibility exists that at some future time one or more of these countries may successfully make the transition that Czechoslovakia essayed in 1968. It seems inevitable that, as long as the Soviet Union maintains its current system, it will be impossible for the peoples of Eastern Europe to live in real harmony with the Soviet Union and that, to maintain hegemony in the area, the Soviets will have to continue to rely upon force.

Dissident elements in the USSR and Eastern Europe display remarkable sympathy and understanding for their fellows throughout the whole Soviet dominated region. Pavel Litvinov, Larissa Daniel and others were exiled from Moscow for trying to stage a peaceful demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Others protested the biased reporting in the Soviet press and Soviet threats before the troops moved in. Intellectuals in all Eastern European countries have actively collaborated with the Soviet dissidents, and have expressed their sympathy for those arrested and imprisoned.

With its easier access to the West, Eastern Europe acts as a conduit for books, letters, manuscripts and ideas. The flow back and forth across the Soviet borders is relatively easy and constant. The fact that Eastern European standards of tolerance and freedom of expression, although restrictive, are well above the levels permitted in the Soviet Union makes the region's ability to influence the Soviet Union a consideration of major importance to the United States.

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Covert Action Programs Targeted at Eastern Europe and the USSR

Current CIA operations targeted at Eastern Europe and the USSR are designed to foster the tensions and cleavages outlined above. Their

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aim is not to promote armed rebellion, but rather to encourage the movement for greater personal freedom within the Soviet Union and to weaken the ties between the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia.

Radio Broadcasts

Free Europe, Inc., and Radio Liberty Committee, Inc., were organized in 1949 and 1951 respectively by the CIA. The major activity of each operation is radio broadcasting. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty programming centers are located in Munich, Germany. Their staffs, composed largely of Soviet and Eastern European expatriates with Americans in key policy positions, represent a unique concentration of expertise and professional talent.

Radio Free Europe (RFE)

RFE currently broadcasts 19 hours daily into Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, 12 hours to Romania, and 8 hours to Bulgaria. It also conducts an extensive and respected research program on Eastern Europe. The radio has achieved a high degree of Eastern European listener acceptance as a station which identifies with their needs, thoughts and aspirations. It is estimated that over 30 million people listen to RFE broadcasts. This percentage rises dramatically during periods of international crisis. RFE is denounced almost daily by Communist media, and on occasion by key figures of the Eastern European governments. Czechoslovak Party Secretary Husak has publicly placed a large share of the blame on RFE for his Party's inability to win over the Czechoslovak population.

The station is a political force with which the Eastern European regimes must reckon. The reason for this lies partly in RFE's pattern of cross-reporting--i.e., reporting in detail to all the Eastern European countries on domestic developments in the individual countries. This is in effect the principal way the peoples of the area learn of significant developments in their own and neighboring countries. It can be demonstrated that RFE's repeated exposure of domestic policies and methods has forced modification of censorship and similar restrictions in several of the Eastern European countries.

RFE's role in the 1968 Czechoslovak crisis is a striking example of the radio's effectiveness. Prior to the ousting of Party First

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Secretary Novotny in January 1968, RFE was the chief source of factual information and research analysis on domestic affairs for much of the Czechoslovak population. After the Soviet invasion and the loss of their new-found freedom, the Czechoslovak people again became dependent on the round-the-clock reporting of RFE. Audience research indicates that RFE's listenership rose to 70 percent of the population. The station received thousands of letters extolling its programs, while the Communist news media unleashed an unprecedented series of attacks on RFE. The Soviet journal Red Star described the radio as the "most effective strategic weapon in the global psychological war being carried on by the United States against the world socialist system."

Radio Liberty (RL)

Radio Liberty broadcasts round-the-clock in the Russian language, 14 hours a day in Ukrainian, and at varying lengths in 15 other national languages. In contrast to RFE, RL is targeted against the more restrictive Soviet system. Effectiveness is more difficult to measure. However, letters from listeners, defector reports and legal travelers indicate that there is a sizeable audience. It is generally agreed that RL merits a significant share of the credit for the increasing manifestations of dissent and opposition among the Soviet intelligentsia. In this respect the Sinyavskiy-Daniel trial of 1966 was a landmark. RL played a unique role in conveying the facts, the significance, and Western reactions to the trial to the Soviet people. RL has also broadcast back into the Soviet Union detailed information on every important letter, protest document, and piece of underground literature which has reached the West through underground channels. Recent Soviet defectors, among them the author Anatole Kuznetsov, have specifically cited RL's vital function in providing such information and thereby expanding the scope and depth of dissident attitudes.

Communist Attacks on the Radios

Soviet and Eastern European attempts to discredit RFE and RL are intensive and coordinated. The Communist regimes are particularly discomfited by the two radios' detailed news coverage of internal developments and highly effective cross-reporting of internal developments, and by their exploitation of intellectual ferment, nationalist tendencies and general dissent within the Soviet Union.

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A measure of the Soviet concern over Western broadcasts is the extent of the Soviet jamming effort. At this time, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria also extensively jam RFE broadcasts. According to a VOA study, the Soviets use 2,000 - 2,500 jammers at an estimated annual cost of \$150,000,000. As indicated above, however, the jamming is marginally effective inasmuch as the target audiences hear the radios on one or more frequencies. The cost of the Soviet jamming effort can be put into perspective by comparing it with the annual operating costs of FE, Inc., and RLC, Inc., \$21,723,000 and \$12,770,000 respectively. The radios represent a 20-year investment of over \$400,000,000.

Non-Radio Programs of Free Europe, Inc., and Radio Liberty Committee, Inc.

In addition to the radios, FE, Inc., and RLC, Inc., sponsor book distribution programs. FE, Inc., also administers a program of support for exiles who fled Eastern Europe during the early post-war period. RLC, Inc., sponsors the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich, Germany.

FE, Inc., and RLC, Inc., have distributed a total of two and one-half million books and periodicals in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since the late 1950's. The titles comprise works which are not available in those countries because their content is considered ideologically objectionable.

The book programs are, for the most part, demonstrably effective in reaching directly significant segments of the professional and technical elite, and through them their colleagues in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, with material that can inferentially be said to influence attitudes and reinforce predispositions toward intellectual and cultural freedom, and dissatisfaction with its absence.

The Institute for the Study of the USSR is a research organization supported by Radio Liberty Committee, Inc. It is also heavily engaged in a publications program designed to counter Soviet propaganda in underdeveloped nations. In 1969 over 135,000 copies of its publications were distributed to the Arab countries of the Middle East. The Institute also publishes the prestigious "Prominent Personalities in the USSR" and sponsors symposia which bring together the foremost Western experts on the USSR to consider new approaches to dealing

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with the Communists. A recent budget reduction levied on Radio Liberty Committee, Inc., has led to a decision to terminate the Institute, although efforts are being made to find ways to carry on certain of its activities independently.

Emigre Groups Involved in Publishing

Over the years CIA has worked with many organized emigre groups, only two of which have proved their continuing worth. A Russian organization (the NTS) and a small group of Ukrainians (Prolog) have shown a continuing capacity to keep in touch with the homeland and to meet and influence Soviet citizens who travel abroad. They have been able to exfiltrate and publish a large majority of the significant documents from the underground that have found their way to the West. The contacts of these organizations and their publishing activities sustained the morale and determination of many leading Soviet dissidents over the lean years before they began to receive public recognition abroad. Financial help from the CIA has enabled these organizations to operate on an effective scale.

Some years ago NTS began publishing for Soviet readers the major works of Russian literature suppressed in the USSR, beginning with Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago. This pattern has since been broadened by CIA systematically to encompass other types of literature, aimed at deepening the political impact of the program. Most of the works now being published by CIA instrumentalities (NTS, Prolog, La Presse Libre, Niemanis, etc.) have been smuggled out of the Soviet Union where they were originally distributed secretly in typed or handwritten copies. As the prestige of these publishing activities has increased, more and more manuscripts have come out. Publishing begets writing. One way or another, this program has achieved publication in the original language of almost every piece of polemical literature that has come out of the USSR during the last decade.

Publications for Eastern Europe

CIA has been supporting for many years two magazines, Kultura, a Polish monthly, and Svedectvi, a Czech quarterly, both published in Paris, whose influence in their target countries has been considerable.

Kultura was founded in 1947 and soon won a reputation inside Poland for its high literary stature and objective reporting on domestic

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affairs. Inasmuch as its general policy was constructive criticism rather than rigid opposition, it received the grudging respect and, initially, the tacit tolerance of the Polish regime. In recent years the magazine has supported those individuals inside Poland who have been persecuted for trying to retain the liberalization achieved in the October 1956 "revolution."

Svedectvi, which started publication in 1957, has developed into a friendly, understanding and objectively critical voice of the Czech intellectual in exile. It advocates broad debate, and the continuous, and aggressive exchange of ideas, and subtly suggests changes and improvements similar to those advocated by the deposed Dubcek regime. One Czech defector, a professional psychological warfare officer, described Svedectvi as "by far the most effective psychological and political effort against Czechoslovakia."

Coordination and Interrelation of Programs

Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the other organizations and programs mentioned above reinforce each other's activities in many ways, significantly enhancing the effectiveness of the overall effort. In the ecology of dissidence in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, political organizations such as the NTS and Prolog make contact through Western European travelers with the dissenters inside. Through these contacts and other means documents of protest, suppressed novels and similar material are brought out to the West. They are published in the original language and then broadcast by Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe back to the East, thus vastly magnifying the audience for the original protest documents and in turn stimulating further dissidence. Through the far-flung contacts of the radios and other CIA instrumentalities the publications are distributed to travelers from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe discreetly and cheaply. Czech and Polish distributors enlist their compatriots to carry back Russian volumes to Poland and Czechoslovakia for shipment onward. Few East Europeans need to be told that the future of their own countries depends in large measure upon developments in Moscow.

In this system of interlocking organizations and people, a vital role is also played by overt government media such as the Voice of America and the magazines Problems of Communism and Amerika. Their role is of course different from that of the covertly sponsored media, and in recent years the two have worked harmoniously in tandem to reinforce their respective efforts.

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Planning for the Future

Given the necessary policy approvals and budgetary resources, we propose a number of additional courses of covert action, aimed not only at the USSR itself, but also at Soviet presence and influence outside the Bloc. Most of these can be undertaken with existing assets. In some instances it will be necessary to create new ones.

Exploitation of Internal Dissent

First, we propose modernization of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Spectrum interference (including jamming) and channel congestion in the short and medium wave broadcasting modes have reached such serious proportions that higher power transmitters are needed to maintain an audible signal in the target area. The transmitting plants of both Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are outmoded and underpowered. Both require augmentation and modernization to sustain their effectiveness in a field of friendly and hostile "super power" radio competitors. In addition, Radio Liberty needs new facilities to reach geographic areas of the USSR now only marginally covered. A minimum program of modernization, established by careful Agency review in cooperation with the Bureau of the Budget, calls for an outlay of \$8,330,000. This item was struck from CIA's FY 1971 budget; it will be included in the FY 1972 budget.

Second, we propose increased exploitation of intellectual, political, and economic dissent among Soviets and Eastern Europeans. We can step up our efforts to obtain, publish, and disseminate writings by Soviet dissidents, such as the eminent scientist, Andrey Sakharov, and the underground writers. In addition to their considerable literary merits and their poignant protests against the violation of human rights, they focus on the key vulnerability of the Soviet regime -- its inability to manage an efficient and humane society. Alexander Solzhenitsyn has a new manuscript in the works, "The Archipelago of Gulag." We can intensify its impact by publicizing our precise knowledge of the extensive Soviet forced labor camp system. This would be part of a comprehensive and hard-hitting campaign to expose the Soviet Government's repression of its own citizens.

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There are sizeable groups of Poles and Czechs in exile in Western Europe. We shall support them in establishing a forum to carry their voices of dissent. A magazine, whose pages would be open to Communists and non-Communists, would be a most appropriate medium for broadening the debate on intellectual, political, and economic dissent. For example, Ota Sik, the Czech economist, is in exile in Western Europe. He has the credentials to stimulate debate on a key issue facing the Soviet leaders today. If they hope to regain economic momentum and to manage modern technology, they must consider diluting Communist Party political control. We can offer Sik and others like him support for an institute to study the Soviet economy and to bring an international focus on the gut issues facing the Soviet regime.

Lastly, there is the exploitable potential latent in the ethnic minorities of the Soviet Union. In addition to the comparatively low-key approaches outlined above, we could -- given policy approval -- stimulate nationality aspirations, particularly in the Ukraine and among the Turkic minorities of Soviet Asia. There have been clear indications that the minorities have been growing restive and increasingly assertive in the face of regime pressure for Russification and complete assimilation. By initiating direct, though covert, support to key minority elements, and by channeling their energies toward a more organized resistance to regime pressure, we would touch an extremely sensitive Soviet nerve.

Attacking the Soviet Presence

Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and enunciation of the Brezhnev doctrine has crystallized disillusion with the Soviet regime in Western European Communist circles and given us a basis for a heavy attack on the Soviet presence and influence outside the Bloc. We are in touch with Roger Garaudy, a leading French Communist theoretician who has concluded that Communism, especially as it is practiced in the USSR, as it is is simply not valid for the world today. We will support the widest possible dissemination of his two latest books, which argue his thesis most convincingly. We will stimulate wide discussion of the Soviet claim to infallibility, especially among dissident Communists and other leftists. We will explore the feasibility of a formal organization and publication to include Garaudy and other leading dissidents, such as Paul Noirot, Rossana Rossanda, Ernst Fischer, and Franz Marek.

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In addition to these actions in Europe, we propose to step up our campaign in the developing areas to show those who would emulate Communist methods the basic incompatibility between the Communist system and sensible solutions to local problems. The convolutions of Soviet foreign policy will be brought home to local leaders in a way that engages their own vital interests. The natural momentum of the Sino-Soviet dispute carries into competition overseas where the interests of the host countries are ignored. It has helped us to split local Communist parties, notably in India. More of this can be done. We will step up our campaigns to split and keep disunited Communist parties wherever Czechoslovakia, dissent within the USSR, and the Sino-Soviet dispute have already sown seeds of doubt. Where Sino-Soviet competition already exists and is readily visible, as in Yemen and Tanzania, we can make it clear that such competition is against the best interests of host countries and serves only the aims of either the Chinese or the Soviets.

Orchestration of Covert Propaganda

We have an already extensive capability to exploit anti-Communist themes abroad. This will be strengthened in order to handle an intensified propaganda campaign.

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Our ability to exploit these facilities to date has been limited by the sensitivity of local governments, but the coming months will see action on the following issues.

The Soviets are currently obsessed with Lenin as his centenary on 22 April approaches. They are extremely sensitive to the possibility of a counter-campaign. We have already directed our assets to contradict the idolatrous image of Lenin being promoted by the Soviets in selected areas where the subject is a live one and where the Soviets are making a major effort. Drawing on dramatic examples, such as Svetlana's view that Stalin was a logical outcome of Lenin's policies, we are prepared to counter the Soviet distortions both by informed commentaries on Lenin and by relying on Lenin's own writings. Use of this material will be adapted to fit local occasions and circumstances.

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The Brezhnev doctrine is a dominant theme in propaganda guidance for all our assets. Its presentation is tailored for specific audiences, and for exploitation in conversations with our overseas contacts including friendly intelligence services. Since the doctrine threatens repression of any individual or organizational dissent against the Soviet, we can find its applicability in all areas of the world where the Soviets are present.

We have recently completed a comprehensive analysis of the mediocre Soviet performance in foreign aid and trade, which will be given wide circulation with heavy stress on specific applications in underdeveloped and underdeveloping areas. The Soviets have over-promised and under-delivered, a fact which should be brought home vividly to prospective recipients of Soviet largesse.

In this connection we are currently disseminating information about the spread of schistosomiasis, resulting from Soviet failure to foresee ecological problems in building Aswan Dam. This is the first strike in a campaign to publicize problems emanating from Soviet construction of the Aswan Dam, hailed as one of their major projects in the developing world. We shall continue to effect such carefully targeted exposures where local leaders can identify with local problems and Soviet handling of them.

Where in the past we have exposed the dichotomy between external Soviet propaganda and domestic treatment of organized religion, especially Islam, we believe much more can be done to embarrass the Soviets on this issue. The Moslem countries are particularly receptive, and we shall keep their attention focused on it by steady drum-fire. We have also exposed the Soviet anti-Buddhist policy, and will continue to do so where it will have the most impact.

Use of the Organizational Weapon

Our previous experience in fighting Soviet subversion of voluntary organizations, labor, students, women, etc., has given us a line of departure for an expanded program to neutralize continuing Soviet initiatives in those sectors. The arena is, of course, chiefly the underdeveloped world. The problem has been, and still is, to identify, train, and support leaders capable of providing a democratic alternative to Soviet-supported front organizations. Labor, youth, and many other sectors of the rapidly growing urban proletariat cry out for more attention than we have been able to give them in the past few years.

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There is room for considerable expansion of our use of "black" techniques, particularly in harassment operations against the Soviets in countries where the population is relatively credulous. Selective use of fabrications has been very effective in Africa, and has led to exacerbation of relations between the Chinese and the Soviets, as well as between both of the latter and local governments. Last year

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The Soviets abroad are extremely sensitive to signs of hostility, especially towards high-level travelers, and they usually over-react, blaming the local governments for whatever untoward incidents may have occurred. We have sponsored anti-Communist demonstrations in the past, and will expand our presently limited capability to do so in the future. The capabilities vary greatly and their use is severely circumscribed by local conditions. The Soviets are also sensitive to exposure of their intelligence personnel and operations. A prominent defector from the Soviet intelligence services tells us that "what the KGB fears like a plague are operational flaps that become known to the general public and are exploited by the enemy via propaganda." Another defector says that these exposures have an unsteady effect on the subject and create problems for himself and his immediate superiors, as well as Soviet intelligence headquarters. To date we have been circumspect in exploiting that sensitivity, for reasons of our own security. Nonetheless, we are in a position where we can draw increasingly on our extensive knowledge of their personnel and activities to expose them where it will hurt.

Election Operations

There have been numerous instances when, facing the threat of a Communist Party or popular front election victory in the Free World, we have met the threat and turned it successfully. Guyana in

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1963 and Chile in 1964 are good examples of what can be accomplished under difficult circumstances. Similar situations may soon face us in various parts of the world, and we are prepared for action with carefully planned covert election programs when U.S. policy calls for them.

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